

1918—



—1947

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FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXVI, No. 18

FEBRUARY 14, 1947

PALESTINE CRISIS CALLS FOR U.S. ACTION

PALESTINE'S war of nerves reached a new peak last week at a moment when a rapid succession of events in Jerusalem and London created the deceptive impression that the problem was at last approaching a solution. In Jerusalem the crisis was precipitated by the death sentence of a 33-year-old Hungarian-born Jew, Dov Bela Gruner, a former lance corporal in the British Army, who was to be hanged on January 28 for participation in a terrorist raid on the Ramat Gan police station last April. The kidnapping of two British civilians as hostages for Gruner led to British threats of martial law. On February 3 Jewish officials in Palestine were asked by the British authorities "to state categorically and at once" whether they were "prepared within seven days to call upon the Jewish community to lend their aid to the government by cooperation with the police and armed forces in bringing to justice the members of terrorist groups." The Vaad Leumi, or Jewish National Organization decided two days later to reject this ultimatum, refusing to ask the Jewish people to act as "informers." Terrorists of the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization), who had kidnapped the two British hostages, asserted they would "fight to the last breath" against British authority.

MORE TALK IN LONDON. In London, meanwhile, the latest in the long series of Palestine conferences was being held. Only the Arabs were officially present, but British leaders were talking on the side with Jewish representatives. The British cabinet was apparently divided between the point of view of Colonial Secretary Creech Jones, who favored the creation of separate Jewish and Arab provinces with no ceiling on immigration in the Jewish zone, and the point of view of Foreign Secretary Bevin who wanted greater restrictions both

on Jewish immigration and on the size of the Jewish province. Bevin's view prevailed. The resulting British proposal, made public on February 10, falls so far short of the hopes of Jewish leaders that they are reported to have totally rejected it. Arab spokesmen have also repudiated the new scheme.

Since neither Arabs nor Jews will yield, it is likely that any British plan would have to be imposed by force. Yet Bevin is reported to have declared, in a letter accompanying his suggestions, that no attempt would be made to force their acceptance. Under the circumstances it is difficult to see what the British can gain by their current military activities. So far the only evident result is the consolidation of the Jewish community and the consequent strengthening of the terrorists in the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang (a small faction which broke away from the Irgun in 1940).

A MANY-SIDED PROBLEM. The Palestine issue is a complex of many closely related problems. The strategic problem is to satisfy Britain's security interests, which are just as legitimate as those of the United States in the Pacific islands. The humanitarian problem is to find refuge for persecuted Jews displaced by the war. The political problem is to reconcile conflicting Jewish and Arab claims for an independent state. The latter two problems are closely related because the Zionists, in effect, are using the humanitarian appeal to win the political objective of a Jewish state, a fact of which the Arabs are keenly aware. Zionists believe that a Jewish state is an essential part of a humanitarian approach to the needs of world Jewry.

The immediate need, however, is to do something about the tragic fate of the several hundred thousand Jewish refugees who a year and a half after the end of the war are still seeking a haven. The post-

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war record indicates that Britain is unwilling to take the risk of imposing a solution favorable to either Jews or Arabs, or of even adopting the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that "Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state." Moreover, many Britishers recognize that London does not have the moral authority in Palestine to carry out a policy. Under the circumstances, many observers believe it is time to look elsewhere for an attempted solution, and the logical place to turn to is the United Nations. Britain might agree to accept a trusteeship agreement for Palestine (drawn up by the Trusteeship Council and approved by the necessary two-thirds vote in the General Assembly) on one condition—that Britain should be granted a strategic base in part of Palestine. Since the formulation of a political decision in the United Nations would doubtless prove long and difficult, the humanitarian problem might be tackled at once by Anglo-American cooperation in sending 100,000 Jews to Palestine at the rate of 10,000 a month which, according to the Jewish Agency, the country can absorb. Should such a plan be undertaken, it should be made clear that the 100,000 are to go in on schedule, but that any further immigration will depend on the decision of the United Nations.

AMERICAN INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. The United States, as the strongest power in the world, has the greatest responsibility for helping to solve the refugee and other world problems. At Frankfurt-am-Main in the American occupation zone in Germany, General Joseph T. McNarney on February 6 told a press conference that "the only feasible solution" for the future of 125,000 Polish Jews in the American zone was settlement in Palestine. Increased American interest in Middle

Eastern oil also forces us to share responsibility for problems of that region. Only 4 per cent of the world's oil production to date has come from the Middle East, but it is estimated that the area contains 42 per cent of the world's proved oil resources. A special Senate committee to investigate this country's petroleum resources reported on January 31 that our continental reserves were insufficient to meet our needs in case of another world war. Finally, Washington has a special obligation, because Jewish citizens of the United States are taking an active part in Palestine affairs. Mr. Mortimer May, vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America declared on January 25: "We are going to have to realize now that for the first time leadership in world Jewry and world Zionism has passed to the United States." The 1600 delegates who heard Mr. May make this statement to the National Mobilization Conference of the Zionist Organization of America voted to raise a special \$1,000,000 fund for Zionist propaganda in the United States.

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry estimated that "as many as 500,000 (Jews) may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe." The United States could contribute to the settlement of one of the world's most acute problems by (1) opening its doors to 200,000 Jewish refugees; (2) urging other nations to absorb another 200,000 immigrants; (3) strengthening its insistence on immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine; (4) putting strong pressure on Britain to turn the mandate over to the United Nations; (5) and furnishing financial technical and even military aid to insure the transfer and safety of the 100,000 immigrants until the United Nations assumes this task.

VERNON MCKAY

UNREST IN JAPAN LEADS MacARTHUR TO ORDER NEW ELECTIONS

General MacArthur's directive of February 7, ordering national elections in Japan "as soon as practicable," will give the Japanese people a new opportunity to express their political sentiments. It also offers the occupation authorities an opportunity, if they so desire, to get out of a situation in which American prestige has become closely identified with support of Japan's extreme conservative elements. For one of the principal political facts of recent months in Japan has been the use of American influence to prop up Premier Shigeru Yoshida's cabinet. The chief complaint of Japanese critics of the regime has been against its do-nothing policy in handling economic problems, particularly rising prices. The labor unions, especially those in which the Communists and Socialists are influential, have been the spearhead of opposition to Yoshida, but the existence of dissatisfaction far beyond the left is

suggested by a recent poll of more than 200,000 Japanese voters by the Tokyo newspaper, *Asahi*. According to the results, announced on February 2, 48.7 per cent opposed the Yoshida government, only 26.4 per cent favored it, and the rest expressed no opinion. The figures also indicate that in new elections the Socialists might well become the largest single parliamentary group.

CHANGE IN JAPANESE SENTIMENT. When the Liberal party, now headed by Yoshida, secured the largest number of Diet seats in last April's national election and soon formed a governing coalition with the even more conservative Progressive party, the results caused no surprise. The voting took place less than eight months after Japan's capitulation, and the past experience of the Japanese people made it natural for them to elect candidates not too remote in outlook from their previous lead-

ers. Changes, however, were already taking place in Japanese opinion, and this ferment has increased in the months since the balloting. Although reports indicate no significant sense of war guilt in Japan, and the temper of the people cannot at this date be considered democratic or anti-militaristic, progress has been made in eradicating some of the traditional subservience to authority. There appears to be a new questioning of authority in certain sections of the population, particularly in Japan's mushrooming labor movement, whose membership now runs into the millions, an unprecedented figure in Japanese history. It is paradoxical that while this emergence of labor reflects in large measure the freedom of organization and opinion permitted by the occupation authorities, the latter have been worried for some time by the strength of left-wing leaders in a number of the unions.

U.S. AND JAPANESE LABOR. It has been apparent for quite a while that the Yoshida cabinet would not be in office except for the firm support given it by American representatives. Yoshida has launched several unsuccessful efforts to strengthen his regime through the inclusion of new elements. He has been particularly anxious to split the opposition and deflect popular criticism by drawing a number of Socialists into the cabinet and he has also tried to take advantage of differences between the right and left-wing sections of the Socialist party. His efforts, however, have failed, and the best he has been able to achieve is the entrance of a few "non-partisans" into the cabinet on January 31.

This attempt at reshuffling took place on the eve of a scheduled strike of government workers. Some time before, as part of the labor movement's drive to secure wage increases, to change the government's economic policies and unseat Yoshida, a joint committee of the Japanese unions had called a strike of some 2,500,000 government employees for February 1. When various unions of non-government workers decided to strike in sympathy, it became clear that a partial general strike was impending.

On January 22, under pressure from General MacArthur's headquarters, the Yoshida cabinet offered limited concessions on some of labor's demands, but the unions found the government's plan as a whole unacceptable. The American authorities then attempted in private conferences to induce the labor leaders to cancel the strike, but these efforts proved fruitless. On January 28 a crowd, estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 demonstrators, paraded peacefully through the streets of Tokyo and marched to Yoshida's residence to demand his resignation. Finally, on January 31 union leaders were called to occupation headquarters, where the text of an order by General MacArthur forbidding the strike was read to them. Under great pressure from the American authorities, the leaders called off the strike three hours before it was scheduled to begin.

WITH WHOM SHALL WE WORK? General MacArthur's statement declared that he would not "permit the use of so deadly a social weapon in the present impoverished and emaciated condition of Japan." One of the most striking passages expressed the view that the strike was the work of a minority which "might well plunge the great masses into a disaster not unlike that produced in the immediate past by the minority which led Japan into the destruction of war."

Although the Communists, whom General MacArthur unquestionably included in the word "minority," have a far greater influence in the Japanese labor movement than their numbers would suggest, the strike demands were widely supported in non-Communist labor circles. In addition, while the potentially serious economic effects of a general strike were averted, the United States assumed the political risk of going on record in support of an unpopular Japanese government. This situation seems especially unfortunate because the issue of a general strike might never have arisen if the Japanese cabinet had been allowed to fall months ago in the ordinary course of political evolution.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

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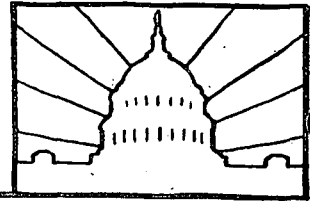
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FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXVI, No. 18, FEBRUARY 14, 1947. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. FRANK ROSS MCCOY, *President Emeritus*; HELEN M. DAGGETT, *Executive Secretary*; VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Editor*. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Four Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Six Dollars a Year
Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.

Washington News Letter



MARSHALL URGES CONGRESS TO ACT ON FOREIGN POLICY PROPOSALS

The task faced by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in winning the support of his Republican colleagues in Congress for that part of the Administration's foreign policy which he himself accepts may grow increasingly difficult as 1947 unfolds. The test of his leadership in his own party will come when Congress takes up the list of the twenty-seven legislative proposals which Secretary of State George C. Marshall transmitted to Vandenberg on February 5. This article is intended to give brief background information on the six proposals Marshall put at the top of his list.

1. *Legislation authorizing the United States to carry on its own relief program abroad*, in coordination with other governments, is sought because UNRRA will practically cease to operate in Europe on March 31 and because present relief allocations in some countries, notably Austria, Italy and Greece, are regarded by the Administration as insufficient. Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson on December 6 proposed that the United States provide foodstuffs free to countries whose needs were well established. The Administration regards the problem as short-term, to be ended with next summer's harvests, but views the current shortage of food in the neediest countries as the supreme international emergency. The State Department has not yet concluded its study of the relief problem. When the requisite legislation is introduced in Congress, it will be referred to the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations and House Foreign Affairs and Appropriations Committees.

2. *Senate approval is required for the Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian peace treaties* which were signed by representatives of all governments concerned in Paris on February 10. When the original copies for the United States are returned from Paris to Washington, President Truman will submit them with a letter of transmittal to the Senate, which probably will refer them to the Foreign Relations Committee. Ratification requires the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present.

3. *Enactment of legislation for American membership in the International Refugee Organization* is sought to provide care for refugees and displaced persons after UNRRA ends its operations on June 30. The United Nations General Assembly on December 15 accepted the IRO constitution at the

suggestion of the United States. The agency is to come into existence when fifteen member nations, providing at least 74 per cent of its \$151,000,000 budget, have approved it. The United States would contribute \$73,000,000 toward the first-year budget. Legislation probably will be ready about March 1 for introduction in Congress and consideration by the committees concerned with international relief.

4. *Senate approval of the Anglo-American oil treaty* has been sought since 1944, when the treaty first was negotiated. Revised in 1945, it provides for consultation between the United States and the United Kingdom on common problems relating to the extraction and sale of petroleum and its products overseas, and paves the way for the establishment of an international oil organization. President Truman submitted the oil treaty to the Senate in November 1946, but the Foreign Relations Committee has not held hearings on it.

5. *Legislation to authorize use by the International Children's Emergency Fund of \$500,000 contributed by the United States to UNRRA* would further the work of a special relief agency, created in December by special resolution of the United Nations General Assembly to aid children and expectant and nursing mothers in invaded countries. Maurice Pate, Children's Fund executive director, said on January 24 that its goal for 1947 is the distribution of \$450,000,000 in relief. The \$500,000 in unexpended funds from the United States contribution to UNRRA cannot be passed on to the Fund without legislation authorizing the transfer. The required legislation has not been prepared. The Fund expects to obtain additional funds from a variety of sources.

6. President Truman on October 4 said that *legislation enabling displaced persons to settle in the United States* was desirable. Changes in the immigration laws, increasing existing quotas, would facilitate the transfer of DPs from overcrowded camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. IRO will care for the DPs in the camps but not resettle them. The resettlement problem is urgent because the present homeless condition of millions of DPs contributes to unrest and political instability in Europe. Belgium, Brazil, Argentina and Canada have indicated an interest in taking some DPs as permanent settlers. When prepared, immigration legislation will be the concern of the Senate and House Immigration committees.

BLAIR BOLLES